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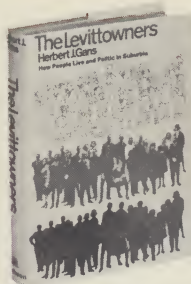
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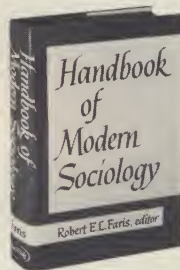
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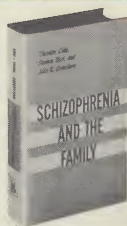
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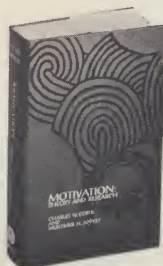
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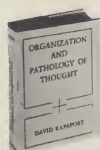
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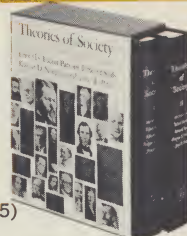
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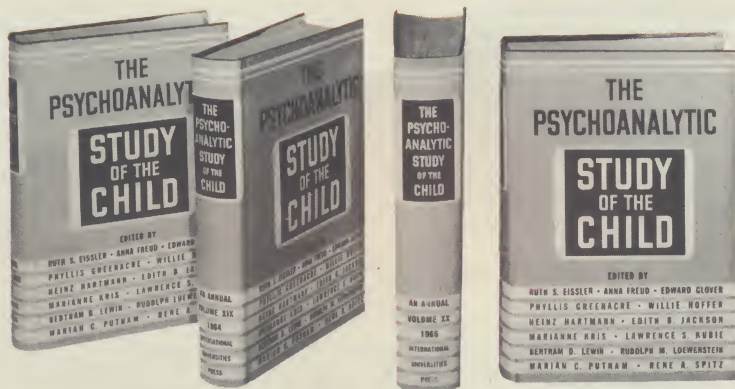
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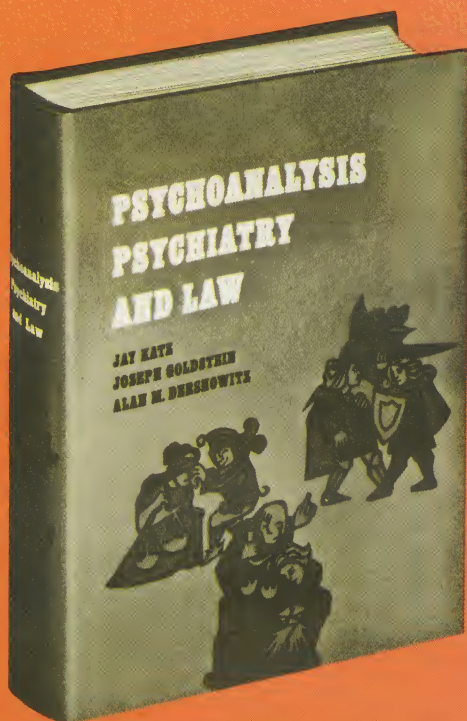
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The authors of **PSYCHOANALYSIS, PSYCHIATRY, AND LAW** are ideally suited to undertake such an investigation. Jay Katz, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, is Associate Professor of Law at Yale Law School and Associate Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Yale Medical School. Joseph Goldstein is Professor of Law at Yale Law School—a lawyer, political scientist, and research candidate in psychoanalysis. (Professors Goldstein and Katz have collaborated on another recent selection of the Behavioral Science Book Service: *The Family and the Law*.) The third author is Alan M. Dershowitz—Assistant Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, formerly Law Clerk to Justice Arthur J. Goldberg.

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Bruno Bettelheim
**THE EMPTY
FORTRESS**



THE MAIN SELECTION

a review by SILVANO ARIETI, M.D.
Professor of Clinical Psychiatry,
New York Medical College
Editor, American Handbook of Psychiatry

Of all the works of Bruno Bettelheim, **THE EMPTY FORTRESS** may very well be the major one. The famous child psychologist is prepared to tell us his experiences with children suffering from infantile autism; and indeed he gives us an excellent description of the disorder, an accurate account of three carefully studied cases, a psychodynamic interpretation of the illness, and the vicissitudes of a difficult therapy.

But he actually gives us much more. Bettelheim presents to us his concepts of the way the self is born, the human mind begins, and of how pathology starts from an unfortunate encounter of the child with others.

The author's unusual life experiences and life philosophy are reflected in this work. At the very beginning of **THE EMPTY FORTRESS** he lets us know that his memories as an inmate of a Nazi concentration camp were linked in his mind with his daily work with severely disturbed children. He wondered whether there were any connections between the two kinds of inhumanity he had known—"one inflicted for political reasons on victims of a social system, the other perhaps a self-chosen state of dehumanization."

What first disturbed Bettelheim and aroused his interest in these autistic children "was how deliberately they seemed to turn their backs on humanity and society." Bettelheim felt that *if these children's experience of reality was such that it led to a total rejection, then there was a crucial lesson to be learned about reality and about what we can do in our reconstructive efforts.*

The Nazi horror had led the author to introspect what kinds of experiences can dehumanize man: perhaps the feeling of being at the mercy of cruel forces which one can not in any way influence. Bettelheim sees something similar in autistic children. He does not advance definite hypotheses about the etiology of autism. He even tells us that perhaps future research will reveal that some organic factor is a precondition of autism. But, he adds, the fact is that all organic conditions so far linked to this disease are also present in nonautistic children. He believes that this is a good enough reason to seek why a hypothetical organic involvement leads to autism in only some children, but not in others. He finds the reason not in an ambivalent attitude of the parents toward the children—ambivalence is too weak and too common an occurrence—but *in parental conscious or unconscious attitudes which are experienced by the child as a wish that he did not exist.*

The child is not a passive recipient of a wish which compels him to withdraw from life and the world. He is an active participant in a sequence of events. A liminal action of the autistic child evokes a negative response in the caretaking adult. To this the child responds with massive withdrawal. Incidentally, this reviewer has found a similar sequence in the childhood of some of the people who eventually develop adult schizophrenia.

In describing what goes on in the infant, Bettelheim gives interpretations which remain within the classic Freudian theoretical framework but are nevertheless acceptable also to many neo-Freudian schools and especially to the interpersonal school. Early development is not viewed from the point of how well the child's oral needs are being satisfied, but from the point of early interpersonal relations with the mother.

Bettelheim sees the core of the autistic disorder in a relatedness which does not permit the child to be spontaneous or active and consequently engenders a basic mistrust. He stresses that what humanizes the infant is not being fed, changed or picked up, although these actions on the part of the caring adult add greatly to the child's feeling of well-being. It is rather that his crying brings about a satisfactory action in others. At the same time that he learns that whatever happens to him depends on the response of another person, he realizes that he evokes that response in the others. Mutuality starts in this way.

However, lack of satisfying responses from those who take care of him may force the child to view the world as purely frustrating. He becomes very disappointed in the world and stops trying. This may be the beginning of the autistic retreat. Even the artificial timing of feeding can dehumanize the infant, because it prevents him from feeling that his crying or smiling brings about his being fed. The child develops an utmost defeatism about his ability to manipulate the environment. He tries to assert himself and to defy the parents by doing nothing. But in protecting his self in this way, he actually makes his self weaker and weaker. The self becomes alienated not only from the environment, but from one's own emotions and feelings, including such vital bodily functions, as eating, urinating and defecating.

Bettelheim, throughout **THE EMPTY FORTRESS**, compares autistic children to inmates of concentration camps, especially to those called "Moslems" — the prisoners who had resigned themselves to death without resisting, if this was the will of the Nazis (or of Allah). However, there is an essential difference between the prisoners and the autistic children. The child had no chance to develop a personality and intellectual maturity. Bettelheim reaches the conclusion that to

develop childhood psychosis the infant must be convinced that his total being is run by insensitive, irrational powers which have absolute control of his life and death. The author proposes the view that infantile autism is "a state of mind that develops in reaction to feeling oneself in an extreme situation, entirely without hope."

Whereas Part One is predominantly a theoretical discussion of "*The World of Encounter*" — the encounter of the young child with the important adults, and of what goes wrong in this encounter — Part Two is a vivid illustrative report of three case histories.

The first is the case of Laurie, the little girl almost saved from the severest form of autism, which did not permit even awareness of bodily functions, until she was submitted again to a tragic fate by "forces . . . beyond one's ability to influence." The second is the case of Marcia, the girl whose sense of self was regained at the age of fourteen after three years of treatment in the Orthogenic School. This case demonstrates, according to the author, that whereas there seems to be no time clock for the development of our emotions, there is one for the intellectual development based on these emotions. If the required emotional experiences are not available to the child before puberty sets in, the ego remains stunted. Part Two ends with a long report of the successful treatment of Joey.

In Part Three Bettelheim dismantles piece by piece the persevering myth of the "feral or wolf children." After having demonstrated the unreliability and inaccuracies of the cases reported in the literature, he advances the plausible hypothesis that these alleged feral children were autistic children.

In Part Four the author reviews critically the literature on autism and especially the contributions by Kanner, Rimland and Bosch. The author here does as much as he can to dispel another myth, that of the hopelessness of the autistic condition. He reports 42% positive results with his treatment and does not hesitate to foresee that with a refinement of his technique, and more learning about the condition, the results will be even better.

I would in fact like to conclude by reaffirming what I have already alluded to at the beginning. The manifest content of **THE EMPTY FORTRESS** deals with autistic children, a very interesting but fortunately not a common condition; but the latent content, with its implications and ramifications, is of far vaster proportion.

The first connection is of course with adult schizophrenia, especially in its severest forms. Very soon, however, the reader's thinking will be engaged with such problems as *the interrelation of actions, emotions, and*

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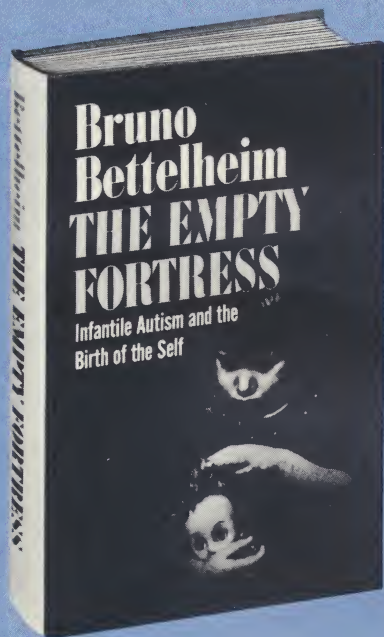
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continued from inside page

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The Levittowners

In the preface to his exhaustive and intelligent participant-observer study of **THE LEVITTOWNERS** (subtitled *Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*), Herbert Gans argues that the essence of sociology "is that it observes what people really do and say. It looks at the world from their perspective, unlike much literary writing which often boils down to cataloguing their shortcomings from the author's perspective. Sociology is a democratic method of inquiry. It assumes that people have some right to be what they are."

My own bias is inclined toward humanistic culture; I am opposed to Gans' neutralizing distinctions between analysis and values, and equally opposed to the assertion of social scientific Platonism which bobs up like a greased cork out of Gans' honest and forthright discussion of his methods: "most of my findings would have been reached by another social scientist starting from different ones." Yet, if ever any inquiry was worthy of such passionate faith in neutrality, if ever a portion of contemporary American society was in need of painstaking investigation, it is suburbia; no other phenomenon on the American landscape has been so consistently maligned.

Beginning with the post-World War II construction boom, a whole generation of smug generalizers have accused our burgeoning suburban population of conformity, status-seeking, every conceivable manifestation of anomie, social isolation, social and communal disarray. The charges have often been contradictory, even paradoxical. Suburbs have been blamed for turning Democrats into Republicans and for bringing to fruit a politically apathetic generation (although it is odd that suburban children have grown up to serve in the forefront of civil rights, Berkeley, anti-Viet Nam demonstrations). Suburbs have also been libeled as a burial ground for creativity and originality, and damned for allowing a feckless assertion of individualism.

Sometimes the charges have been so blurred as to be indistinct from mere antibourgeois animus. It couldn't simply be that people moved to the suburbs to get the best house for the money, to be more comfortable, or to feel less like the anonymous victims of their social and economic fates. They had to be wallowing in creature comforts, verging on alcoholism, leaping from adultery to adultery. But, in a nation where the middle-class option is so widespread, for the sociologist to be antibourgeois is for him to suffer from a peculiar blindness, and it is one of the triumphs of **THE LEVITTOWNERS** that Gans is able to demonstrate that most of our charges have either been grossly exaggerated or are the most absolute poppycock.

I suspect Gans is also correct when he suggests that such smugness stems, in part, from the bias of the status-conscious upper middle classes toward those who are attempting to better themselves on the social scale. But if all Gans did was provide an apologia for the suburbs, it would have sufficed for him to give us another literary polemic rather than what we have here — an elaborate exploration based on two years' living as an original Levittown, New Jersey, site occupant and supplemented by nearly ten years in all of investigation, analysis, and comparison study of the dynamics of a new suburban community: *how issues are raised in it and by what interest groups, how the various subcommunities emerge, and what the implications of such behavior should be for government planners, civil rights activists, social workers, and educationalists.*

In this limited space it would be difficult to list all of Gans' findings. I do think it worthwhile to point out that he generally finds more pluralism and organizational activity in his suburb, and he discerns some indications of increased contentment. The dissatisfactions arise not so much from suburban living (except as pertaining to issues like the availability of mass transit or recreational opportunities for grown children), but rather as a consequence of more general social flaws (for example, the limitations and distortions which work and living expenses impose upon all of us).

I think it would be fair to say that Gans views suburbs as ingatherings of people who bring their problems with them—not as the spawning grounds for new psychic problems. This view is strengthened, moreover, by Gans' truly egalitarian notion of government and the interests of conflicting classes—a notion which may even offend some, but which, it would seem to me, is preferable to the assertion of one upwardly mobile middle class set of values for all.

One of the best chapters in **THE LEVITTOWNERS** discusses how the old existing township government, around which Levittown was built, attempted to seal itself off from the Levittowners, and how the Levittowners, when they came to power, also found the necessity to operate as a kind of elite. The author also wisely discusses the failure of local journalism to expose public officials to public scrutiny, and some of the reasons why.

Most impressive of all, Gans' neutralism does not prevent him from including some practical suggestions for government to deal with the conflicts which arise in the new communities, and he argues that the suburban option should be increasingly made available to more Americans of limited means so that (a) better housing will become accessible to the burgeoning Negro populations of the cities, and (b) such an option can eventually be theirs as well.

In short, **THE LEVITTOWNERS** is a book of portent—and an important analysis of the limitations and strengths of a liberal democracy.

"Herbert Gans has taken the trouble of giving us a picture of how the people in a large suburban development actually live."

—Tom Wolfe

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Part One — The Origin of a Community

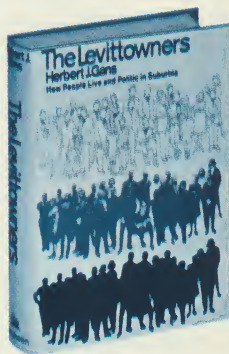
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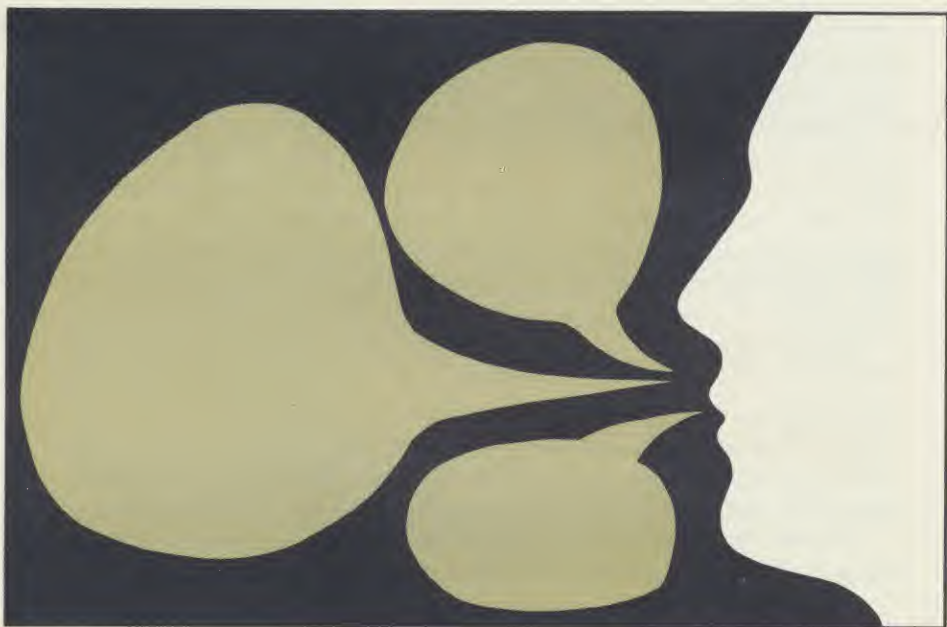
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Pathological and Normal Language



a review by WILLIAM G. NIEDERLAND, M.D.
Clinical Associate Professor of Psychiatry
State University of New York

The author of **PATHOLOGICAL AND NORMAL LANGUAGE**, who is director of psychological research at the Veterans Administration Hospital in West Haven, Connecticut, and Associate Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Yale University, offers a well-organized, integrated, carefully elaborated, though condensed presentation of what is known at present about the psychology of language. His stated aim, to be more precise, is "a psychological analysis of language" and in view of his lucid discussion of older linguistic studies, the inclusion of rich contemporary material and the addition of his own pertinent findings in his field of linguistic research, one can say that this goal is in toto reached.

In seven main chapters, numerous subchapters, many illustrative examples and tables, the author examines the collective and individual phenomena of language — originally differentiated by de Saussure as *la langue* and *la parole* respectively — and then proceeds to dissect in detail associative relationships, meaning ("how language does its work"), distortions and structure in free speech, language in relation to personal experience, certain characteristics of psychotic language, and finally "language in psychoanalytic theory."

Laffal develops his often illuminating observations on language theory, language categories, language usage, and other types of language behavior for the most part against a background of solid knowledge in linguistics and psychology, in part also within the framework of analytic thinking and theory.

As to the latter and also with respect to various clinical vignettes in **PATHOLOGICAL AND NORMAL LANGUAGE**, at times one has the impression that Laffal is more interested in the breadth and dimensional quality than in the depth of the material presented and that his formulations are designatory rather than analytically clarifying in character.

Of great theoretical and practical interest are Laffal's pioneering studies on the significance, consistency, and differential meaning of so-called "contextual associates" in the spoken or written language of individuals. His painstaking observations of these may open up new avenues for a more refined investigation in certain areas of clinical and psychobiographical work.

Starting from the premise that on the basis of adequate sampling of an individual's language, his use of various key words and other

verbal productions on different occasions, one can arrive at characteristic uniformities in a given context, he develops a methodical approach for the determination of contextual word-associates which yields "something like a group of associative related statements, phrases, categories, or words."

As the author shows, such a grouping can point to the latent content associated with the key words, and through extending the language analysis to synonyms, linguistic similarities, and the total vocabulary structure, the method can be used for the establishment of a system of categories that emerge from the language productions and yield further information as to reference, content, differential meaning, and so forth. This, then, is essentially a mining operation, if I may so designate it, employed by the author with great skill and impressive thoroughness. He presents no fewer than one hundred fourteen categories into which the vocabulary of the English language can be grouped.

Laffal's category system is based on the common vocabulary; it is directed at relatedness within the general framework of contextual and meaningful reference including, but not limited to, synonymy. It reads, in part, like a methodical elaboration of Keats' poignant observation: "Every point of thought is the centre of an intellectual world."

More specifically, Laffal illustrates his technique with the help of a meticulous study of the contextual associates in the recorded language productions of two psychotic patients and of one printed autobiographical account, the famous Schreber Memoirs. Though his approach to the latter is slightly marred — he bases his linguistic exploration on the English translation of the *Denkwuerdigkeiten* — Laffal arrives through his examination of the language contexts of *God, male, sun* in Schreber's autobiography at the same conclusions as Freud in his 1911 Schreber analysis.

This is a noteworthy result. It also confirms the fact that linguistics is complementary to psychoanalysis and at the same time demonstrates the possibility of selective validation of analytic propositions through thoughtful interdisciplinary methodology, if judiciously employed.

PATHOLOGICAL AND NORMAL LANGUAGE can be strongly recommended to analysts, psychiatrists, psychologists, and students of human language. For the practicing psychoanalyst, in particular, an awareness of linguistic patterning can be of considerable value in understanding his patients' multifaceted verbal productions.

— excerpted from *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*

"Laffal's wide knowledge of literature in psychology, linguistics, and philosophy allows for a useful synthesis of concepts from several fields concerned with language . . ."

*—Peter F. Ostwald, M.D.
in the American Journal of Psychotherapy*

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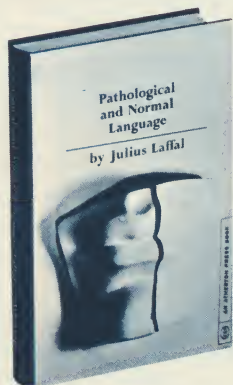
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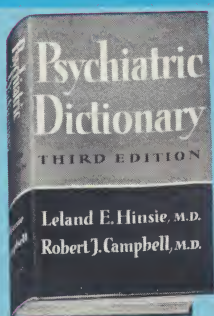
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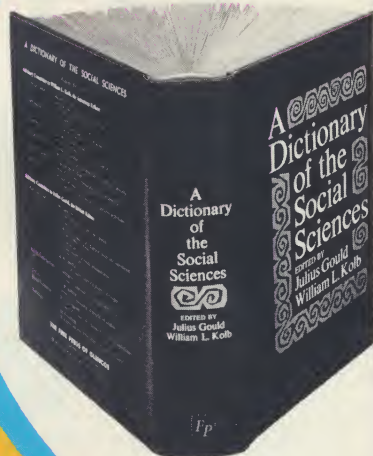
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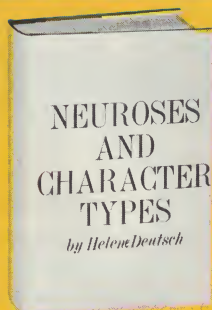
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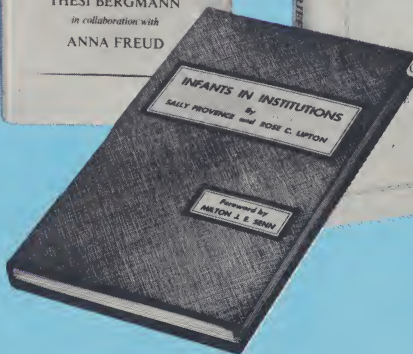
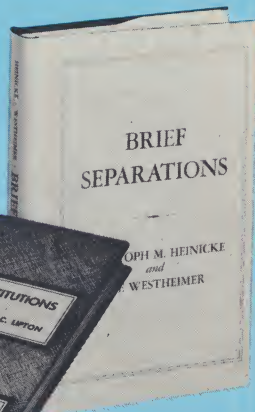
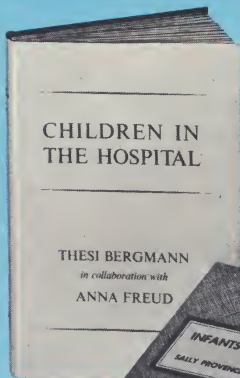
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